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ABSTRACT

Evaluation research of the human relations component of a larger project that attempts to bridge the black-white cultural gap in the Louisville school system is the basis of this paper. The overall purpose of this major component is to enhance positive attitudes toward intercultural, racial, and ethnic relations and understandings through curriculum content and by humanistic teaching methods and not necessarily by direct teaching about attitudes and understandings themselves. The project includes the experimental treatment of an elective social science course in urban sociology at two high schools--a 100 percent black inner city school, and a 99 percent white upper middle class suburban school Control groups for the quasi-experimental design are regular social science courses at the two schools. Instruments administered include a personality inventory, a self-concept scale, and a racial and ethnic attitude questionnaire. It is concluded that a general approach, while potentially effective in changing attitudes will do so in unpredictable ways, and that even positive changes in attitudes and understandings must be differentiated from liking or accepting perceived race characteristics. It is suggested that attitudes be looked at one at a time, examined situationally, and then followed-up on an item-by-item basis. (Author/AM)

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RACIAL ATTITUDES AND THE PEDAGOGY OF HUMAN RELATIONS IN AN URBAN SETTING

by
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RACIAL ATTITUDES AND THE PEDAGOGY OF HUMAN RELATIONS IN AN URBAN SETTING

(Abstract)

Impending litigation on urban-suburban school district busing for purposes of consolidation and desegregation in Louisville, Kentucky spurred interest in identifying and improving racial attitudes and understanding. Funding for an experimental human-relations program was sought and obtained under the Emergency School Act by the Louisville Urban Education Center, a consortium of the school district and two universities.

The project included the experimental treatment of a "human relations" oriented social science course at two high schools; a (100%) black inner city school and a (99%) white, upper middle class suburban school. Control groups for the quasi-experimental design were "regular" social science courses at the two schools. Three instruments were administered pre and post treatment to experimental and control groups at both locations: 1) a personality inventory; 2) a self-concept scale; and, 3) a racial and ethnic attitude questionnaire (dependent variables).

Analysis of variance procedures were applied to isolate those attitudes most or least susceptible to change when exposed to the treatment. Step-wise regression analysis was then applied to those selected attitudes to identify contributing personality and self-concept factors. Many significant changes in attitudes are identified, but they do not emerge in systematic fashion. It is concluded that a general approach, while potentially effective in changing attitudes, will do so in unpredictable ways and that even positive changes in attitudes and understandings must be differentiated from liking or accepting perceived other race characteristics.

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The Demographic Setting

The Louisville metropolitan area is fairly typical of many other urban areas in its racial composition and distribution. In 1972 the enrollment in the city schools was about evenly divided between black (22,933) and white (22,637) pupils. However, the total population in the city is about 23 percent black (80,040 in 1970) and 77 percent white (275,511) in 1970). This discrepancy between the proportion black and white in the total and school populations (when compared with earlier figures) appears to be an indication of the "white flight" phenomenon where younger, working white families with school age children abandon the central city and migrate to suburban areas leaving behind disproportionate numbers of black, the poor and the old.

Other indicators suggest that the metropolitan population redistribution had not peaked during the decade of the 1960s but, indeed, was intensifying into the 1970s. In 1970 2.2 percent of the pupils were in all black-student schools. The figure in the following year (1971) jumped over threefold to 7.8 percent and continued to increase into 1972 when the proportion was 8.6 percent. The number of census tracts with fewer than 50 percent blacks decreased between 1960 and 1970 but the number of those with 50-100 percent black residents increased from 15 to 27 during that decade.

All of this is a familiar sort of pattern to those who have examined urban education problems, but it is useful to occasionally remind ourselves of

these facts of life. However, the existence of common patterns (or even the intensity of those patterns) does not necessarily imply in-common programmatic solutions. The project on which this report is based attempted to bridge the black-white cultural gap in the schools in a less than dramatic way, but these ways are worth exploring because they are less likely to produce the sort of backlash that public attention can produce and thereby neutralize program effectiveness.

Project Description

During the 1973-1974 academic year, the Louisville Urban Education Center (LUEC—a consortium of the Louisville Board of Education, the University of Louisville, and the University of Kentucky), with the support and active cooperation of several divisions of the Board of Education, sponsored—and eventually managed—a project which included a human relations component and was funded under the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA). The proposal was initiated early in 1973 when the Louisville school system was being monitored by the federal judiciary concerning racial balance in the schools and were under orders to create a plan of desegregation satisfactory to the court. This, and other pending litigation, spurred interest in identifying and improving racial attitudes and understanding in the schools of the community. It was felt by those proposing the project that such an undertaking would be worthwhile whatever the type of desegregation plan implemented, whether or not additional massive busing for racial balance would be required and whether or not consolidation with the suburban Jefferson County system would become necessary. As events turned

out, consolidction and extensive busing (effective as of the beginning of the 1975-1976 school year) were implemented.

This paper is based on evaluation research of the Human Relations component (actually the major component in size, cost and manpower) of a larger project; however, the components were tied together only in an administrative way and not functionally. The overall purpose of the component was to enhance positive attitudes toward intercultural, racial and ethic relations and understandings. This was to be accomplished through curriculum content and by "humanistic" teaching methods but not necessarily by direct teaching about attitudes and understandings themselves. Or, said in another way, get at the generalized principles but don't "teach for the test." There was, however, no strong control over directly "teaching the attitude."

There were two main reasons for not teaching a course in "human relations" per se: 1) to try to control for possible attitude bias among those who would self select themselves for this course from among those courses available, and, 2) to deal with generalizable content and method rather than that which might be associated with the specific experiences of a human relations course. Reason (1) is for research control and reason (2) for program effectiveness in the longer run.

An elective social science course called "Urban Sociology" was created and offered for credit at two high schools. One was a 100 percent black-student inner city high school and the other was a 98 percent white-student high school in an upper middle class area on the fringes of the Louisville district; for practical purposes, a suburban school. Three graduate student interns were hired

to teach the courses; one white male, one black male and one black female. These interns had full course responsibility within the schools, just as regular teachers in a regular course. The course itself was offered as a full credit substitute for the regular social science requirement. Later inquiry indicated selection by students was based as much on scheduling convenience as much as on interest in the course title. The course was divided into units and the three instructors worked together in various combinations to alternate units between the two schools. Both experimental sections had the same exposure to all instructors but in alternate weeks or units.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss course content or teaching method in detail, but since those are the "treatments," to use traditional experimental—but perhaps in this case inappropriate—language, I must try to give you an idea of what differentiated this course from the "control" course. There were 15 units in the course and these topics ranged from "Self Concept" and "Group Tasks" to "Blues," "Values Classification" and "Racism." (See Appendix A for complete listing.) Teaching methods ranged from traditional short lectures (infrequently) to simulation games, T-grouping (sensitivity training), field trips (to Appalachia as well as urban areas) and multi-media presentations. The overwhelming thrust was in the direction of personal involvement and interaction. On a bi-weekly basis, the experimental classes from both locations would come together at a third location for a half day of activities which included both planned and extemporaneous activities. Both groups brought music (whites, western and blacks, soul usually), sometimes food and other "teaching" devices. Also, group simulation and discussion would be planned. These included such topics as inter-racial dating and problems with teachers.

Research Design and Evaluation Techniques

The research design could be designated quasi-experimental because it approaches experimental design in format but, as in most social project situations, control of threats to validity are extremely difficult. For instance, it was not possible to make arrangements for the interns to teach both the experimental courses and regular control group courses, therefore teacher personality is not held constant across experimental and control groups. Included, though, were pre-tests and post-tests on control groups and experimental groups at both locations; four basic groups, each tested twice. The experimental treatment was the human relations oriented "Urban Sociology" course serving as an elective substitute for the regular senior grade-level social studies course, American Problems. One experimental course was offered at each school and a "regular" social studies course in each school served as control groups. The subjects were self-selected rather than randomly selected but no evidence has emerged that indicates a significantly biased sample. The course was first offered in the fall of 1973. The course was "gotten together" this first semester in terms of final content selection and instructional procedure. Evaluation instruments were administered and some simply didn't work. Some students thought many of the questions were naive or silly. These kinds of experiences helped prepare for the second semester offering in the spring of 1974 with completely different subjects and, it should be noted, with a partially different set of evaluation instruments. All data analyzed in this report were gathered from the second semester courses.

Three types of data were collected from the four basic groups at the beginning and end of the semester: 1) a personality inventory; 2) a self concept inventory; and, 3) a racial and ethnic attitude inventory. I'll briefly describe each instrument.

The personality inventory is The 16 P.F. Test, Form C, of the Insitute for Personality and Ability Testing. The 105 questions produce 16 personality factors such as confident or insecure, stable or tense, dependent or selfsufficient, dull or bright, submissive or dominant, etc. In terms of evaluating the project, it was thought that it would be useful to attempt to determine the personality characteristics most likely to be influenced by the treatment since it is well known that student personalities react differentially to different teaching personalities even in conventional settings.

The self-concept measure used was the Tennessee Self Concept Scale which is 100 questions factored into nine (9) self concept traits plus a total score. Examples of these traits are Physical Self, Social Self, Identity, etc. Whether or not self-concept, as measured here, would produce different attitude reaction patterns than that which could be identified with personality traits was something that we wanted to test but only had guesses about. We are still guessing.

The attitude questionnaire involves 103 questions and is not factored. The questions ranged from quite specific attitudes about teachers, for instance, to much broader questions about racism in America and blacks and whites in general. In effect, these questions were treated as dependent (criteria) variables. Let me immediately respond to one possible question here and that is, "doesn't it make as much sense to treat self concept or personality as dependent variables?" Yes, in the general case, but this is an evaluation project and we are interested in attitude outcomes.

Now a few comments on the statistical treatment. There were two stages of statistical analysis by well-known procedures that need only brief mention here. First, a determination of relative change in attitude between the experimental and control groups was needed. Relative rather than absolute change is important because even when subjects are grouped by carefully matching general characteristics, it is not likely that they will be so closely matched on specific preferences or attitudes. If two groups end up, after one group having had a treatment, with similar measured attitude levels and if they had begun with quite different attitude levels, then significant relative change may have occurred. Statistical Analysis System (SAS) procedures (a set of packaged computer assisted statistical programs) were chosen for data manipulation. The first stage analysis included a Means procedure to produce descriptive statistics for all analytic division including groups (experimental and control), schools (black and white), and by test (pre and post). The subject response means for each of these cells (plus others) were obtained for each of the 103 dependent variables (racial-ethnic attitude questions). These univariate means statistics were then used for Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) procedures of which the output included F-statistics. Those dependent variables (attitudes) exhibiting most relative change (between experimental and control groups from pre test to post test) where $F < .10$ and least relative change, $F > .90$, were selected for further analysis. The F statistic was for overall change, that is, it includes both racial groups rather than one or the other. The interest here is in overall attitude change although later we will want to breakdown categories to determine who is most likely to change on which kinds of attitudes. Admittedly, this ignores isolated sub-group change however dramatic it might be.

The number of dependent variables, at this stage was reduced from 103 to 22 of which 13 were F < .10 and 9 were F > .90. The middle, or excluded, group of dependent variables has not been analyzed here to determine if there might be interesting patterns of cancelling-out influences that may have deflected them from extreme probability levels.

At this stage, ANOVA provided the essential information needed for interpretation of data and speculative analysis for program evaluation. (Parenthetically, I'll mention that Factor Analysis and Cononical Analy is also were considered but I'm not convinced that such powerful procedures and necessarily complex interpretation would produce a comprehendable program evaluation in this case.) However, it was thought desirable to examine two possible sources of explanation for observed variance other than the experimental treatment itself. The major reason to persue such leads is because in this project, as in most socicl action programs, there are many possible sources of influence that can be neither experimentally controlled nor statistically tested. I've already alluded to some areas of validation threat. It was decided to examine self-concept factors and personality factors as possible sources of influence on (either independent of or in interaction with) the treatment. The groups were racially and geographically separated. Also, selection procedures were controlled (to the unmeasured extent that they were controlled) passively rather than actively. By that I mean that a soft-sell was used for recruitment so that special interests would not so likely be attracted, rather than actively selecting a random sample. The situation didn't allow for that sort of selection. Self concept and personality could be factors in all of these influences and if a large proportion of variance

was to be found attributed to personality or self concept, then experimental treatment influence could claim (along with any number of unexamined influence) only the residual variance.

The procedure used for this second stage of statistical analysis was stepwise regression. This procedure helps determine "which variable of a collection of independent variables should most likely be included in a regression model. The technique can be useful for data screening—for promoting insight into the relative strengths of the relationships between proposed independent variables and a dependent variable." Both R^2 statistics and F statistics are produced.

Four other points need mentioning. 1) Sample size is modest with about 20 for each of 2 control groups and for each of two experimental groups for a total of about 80 responses on most (overall) computations. 2) Only those taking both the pre and post test are included but attrition by dropping out or non-testing is slight. Special effort was made to reach as many subjects as possible through follow up if absence occured on data gathering days. 3) Elaborate procedures to protect confidentiality were followed. This was necessary so that pre and post tests could be matched for each subject. 4) Pre-test scores in Personality and Self Concept factors were used for computation. Post tests were obtained to test for stability over time but that is not reflected in these data.

Findings and Interpretation

In this section I am not going to make a detailed report of statistically

related findings. That would be both cumbersome and confusing. First, I wish to comment on the regression analysis.

The regression equations for Personality Factors generally accounted for more variance than did the regression equations for Self-Concept. (Variables were included if they were at the .10 level of significance.) This may be as much a comment on the construction of the two measures used as on Personality and Self-Concept per se. (Interaction effects between PF and SC were not tested) R^2 accounted for from none to well over .90 of the variance (pre to post test) for one or the others of the four control or experimental groups on specific measured attitudes. However, there were no consistent patterns of high or low variance probabilities for either black or white subjects or for the control or experimental groups. Nor did specific factors in the equations occur in more or less frequent fashion. Rather, many PF and SC factors emerged as important on different attitude questions. On high R^2's, usually 5 to 7 personality factors would be included in the equation. We are faced here with a troublesome problem of interpretation. How do we know whether or not these PF and SC factors tested are really accounting for attitude change if R^2 is high? In fact we don't. All we can say is that areas are identified that deserve further exploration. To interpret beyond that would be falling into the same trap as did Coleman, et al, in the EEOR (which, as you will recall, relied heavily on regression procedures) when they interpreted the findings directly into policy recommendations, apparently assuming that the equations represent reality. I will, therefore, concentrate my remaining remarks on the ANOVA results. The

approach is to informally use deviant case analysis to identify qualitative categories from the quantitative data.

Those attitude questions having low levels of probability of F (>.90) indicate agreement between blacks and whites, pre and post, experimental and control. This holds true for 8 of the nine attitude questions with F>.90. See Appendix B for list of questions and Appendix C for the questions themselves.) The 8 attitude questions are quite general; #41 Non-whites have good reason to be angry; #49 Whites have good reason to distrust nonwhites; etc. The one question where blacks and whites changed opinions in <u>different</u> directions (each group cancelling out the other groups efforts in the overall calculations) was #37 "Most non-whites tend to be loud and boisterous." Both control groups and the black experimental group disagreed with the statement more ever time. However, the white experimental group tended to agree with the statement over time. One speculation could be that the joint bi-weekly activities contributed to the direction of this attitude change. If so, it might be important in human relations approaches to emphasize tolerance for observed behavior differences rather than to try to attain an acceptance of the behavior itself. There is, I think, an important difference. A generalized tolerance would probably be more transferable than acceptance of a specific behavior. In this case, though, we don't know if the attitude had strong (or any) negative connotations.

Another question (#31) "Non-whites tend to segregate themselves." had a high probability of F (.028). Again, this may be based on course experience. One interesting aspect of this question was that the relative change occured

primarily by black students agreeing more over time.

An unresolved general question begins to emerge here it seems to me. "How much interaction is necessary to produce desirable results—and is there a step-function involved where amount of interaction begins to produce attitude backlash?" This is a bit different from previously investigated questions about proportional number of blacks in a finite school population producing, for example, resegregated peer groupings. The difference is one of quality (type) of experience vs. quantity (in both numbers and time) of experience.

Of the 13 attitudes with probability of $F < .10$ the black and white experimental groups both agreed less over time with the statements on 8 (#'s 13, 20, 26, 29, 30, 56, 93, 98) of the items, both groups agreed more over time on 2 (#'s 48, 90) of the items and went in opposite directions on three (#'s 10, 31, 35) of the attitudes. (In this latter situation, the overall change was still enough to be highly significant.) No strong pattern is indicated by these response sets. An example should serve to underscore that point. Three of the statements had to do with jobs. Both groups had higher post test agreement that (#90)" Non-whites are less eager than whites to be promoted to positions of responsibility." But, there was more mutual post-test disagreement with, (#30) "An unfairly large number of Non-whites are assigned to non-technical jobs." And whites (post test) agreed more and blacks (post test) less that (#35) "Most Non-whites still need close supervision on technical jobs."

Let me summarize some other non-findings. There seemed to be no racial difference nor overall difference between change and no change in attitudes that were more abstract or philosophical vs. those more concrete or experiential;

no identified differences on the basis of material vs. ethical items and when looked at in the basis of universalistic vs. particularistic oriented items neither white-black nor overall change-no change patterns emerged. But there are many ways to cut the cake and other qualitative categories will be applied to the data, both speculatively and statistically. I suspect, however, that the most productive approach to such evaluation is to look at attitudes one at a time, examine them situationally, and be in a position to follow-up on an item-by-item basis.

Concluding Remarks

Most teacher and researchers using or studying the human relations approaches, with whom I've talked, agree that specific or general quantifiable results are rare or transitory. But this should not be an excuse not to persue such programs or methods. The confusion of some over busing as a desegregation device, for instance, does not imply that busing should or should not be used from a pedagogicel perspective. All such programs are political and not pedagogical in their essential nature although they may have pedagogical implications. It just seems difficult for professionals using the so-called human potential approaches to fathom that idea just as it is difficult for teachers using traditional approaches to fathom their activity as political in the broader sense of that term. Many outcomes of usual teaching approaches are also rather elusive but few suggest that teaching be abandoned. (Changed, perhaps, but not abandoned.) I will close by saying that my association with the project was as a part-time consultant for development

and evaluation and not as a human relations source person per se. In fact, that is not my personal preference in approach or style. I have no vested interest in such approaches. Nevertheless, it is an approach (or conglomerate of approaches) that, I am convinced, should be strengthened and more often used if for no other reason than it probably does no worse than traditional teaching and content and does provide some diversity of experience.

APPENDIX A

Experimental Human Relations Course Units

1	Communication	5 days
2	Self Concept and Positive Thinking	5 days
3	Defense Mechanisms	5 days
4	That's Life	5 days
5	Group Tasks	5 days
6	Value Clarification	5 days
7	Minorities	10 days
8	Brother's Keeper	5 days
9	Native Americans	10 days
10	Folk Music	5 days
11	Communities	5 days
12	Poverty	5 days
13	Blues	5 days
14	Propaganda	3 days
15	Racism	12 days

APPENDIX B

ANOVA Probability of F>.90	Attitude Question
.933	4
.936	37
1.000	41
1.000	46
1.000	49
1.000	54
.979	71
.913	81
1.000	88

ANOVA Probability of F<.10	Attitude Question
.034	10
.052	13
.054	20
.090	26
.061	29
.065	30
.028	31
.023	35
.093	48
.088	56
.047	90
.027	93
.058	98

APPENDIX C

Student Number _____

ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

How do you feel about each of the following statements? Mark the letter in the space provided on the left, according to the scale below:

A = Disagree Strongly
B = Disagree
C = Neither Agree Nor Disagree
D = Agree
E = Agree Strongly
F = Don't Know

_____ 1. In the United States, any man can get ahead if he really wants to.

_____ 2. If a man doesn't like the way things are done in America he should leave.

_____ 3. America is firmly committed to the principle of equal opportunity.

_____ 4. Non-whites should treat whites better than they do.

_____ 5. Whites have good reason to be angry.

_____ 6. Skin color is not important in America today.

_____ 7. The problem of racial prejudice has been greatly exaggerated by a very few vocal militants.

_____ 8. Minorities should not try to use the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to solve any of their problems.

_____ 9. Every instance of possible discrimination should be challenged.

_____ 10. There should be no dissent in the American way of life.

_____ 11. There is a good chance that reading about other ethnic groups can reduce racial problems.

_____ 12. Black teachers treat everyone alike.

_____ 13. Racism is common in America today.

_____ 14. Whites are punished less severely than non-whites for the same offenses.

_____ 15. All whites have at least some prejudice toward non-whites.

_____ 16. Full integration would be a good thing.

_____ 17. Unimportant racial problems should be ignored. Only major problems should be attacked.

_____ 18. There is no racial discrimination in the judicial system in America.

_____ 19. Trying to achieve integration is more trouble than it's worth.

_____ 20. Every man should have a voice in his own government no matter how poorly educated he is.

_____ 21. Too much attention is being given to the black minority and not enough to other minorities.

_____ 22. Closer association between the races will improve relations.

_____ 23. Non-whites have good reason to distrust whites.

_____ 24. If I don't actively try to solve the racial problem, then I'm making it worse.

_____ 25. Non-whites get more than their share of dirty details.

_____ 26. White teachers treat everyone alike.

_____ 27. The U.S. is obligated to help minorities because of past discrimination.

_____ 28. Non-whites usually use a foreign language or special words in order to hide things from others.

_____ 29. The school really doesn't care what people like me think.

_____ 30. An unfairly large number of non-whites are assigned to non-technical jobs.

_____ 31. Non-whites tend to segregate themselves.

_____ 32. Many non-whites have become too sensitive.

_____ 33. Success and prestige are less important to non-whites than they are to whites.

_____ 34. Most non-whites would like to be included in white groups.

_____ 35. Most non-whites still need close supervision on technical jobs.

_____ 36. Whites do not show proper respect for non-whites with higher rank.

_____ 37. Most non-whites tend to be loud and boisterous.

_____ 38. Whites and non-whites really think and feel the same way.

_____ 39. The best way to solve racial problems in America is to have stronger discipline (law and order).

_____ 40. One way of reducing racial tension would be to assign individuals to sessions made up of interracial groups.

_____ 41. Non-whites have good reason to be angry.

_____ 42. Most non-whites would like to date white women.

_____ 43. There should be more open discussion between the races about racial problems.

_____ 44. Whites do not usually have to be as good as non-whites to be promoted on the job.

_____ 45. Most Police Officers are fair in discipline and punishment.

_____ 46. Planning on college was one of the better decisions I have made.

_____ 47. Many non-whites have begun to act as if they are superior to whites.

_____ 48. Most teachers try to be helpful with personal matters.

_____ 49. Whites have good reason to distrust non-whites.

_____ 50. Non-whites frequently cry "prejudice" rather than accept blame for personal faults.

_____ 51. Whites should treat non-whites better than they do.

_____ 52. All non-whites feel some prejudice towards whites.

_____ 53. Allowing blacks to wear Afro haircuts amounts to preferential treatment.

_____ 54. Allowing whites to wear hippy hair styles amounts to preferential treatment.

_____ 55. In recruiting minorities for college, their educational disadvantages should be allowed for.

_____ 56. Most whites don't care about the problems of minorities.

_____ 57. Non-whites don't take advantage of the educational opportunities that are available to them.

_____ 58. Non-whites should stay with their own groups.

_____ 59. Most whites deliberately discriminate against minorities.

_____ 60. It's not good for the minority people to dress or behave differently from the majority.

_____ 61. It's no use trying to get anywhere in the establishment. Whether or not you are promoted in your career depends on who you know.

_____ 62. Most non-whites would be free of racism if whites were free of racism.

_____ 63. Non-whites don't feel they have to follow the rules as much as whites.

_____ 64. Non-whites do not show proper respect for whites with higher positions.

_____ 65. Most whites would like to date non-white women.

_____ 66. Tension between blacks and whites is a serious problem in America today.

_____ 67. Whites should try to understand what it feels like to be a member of a non-white group.

_____ 68. Most school administrators try to be helpful with personal matters.

_____ 69. Integration should be left strictly to personal preference.

_____ 70. Non-whites should be more united in order to improve things.

_____ 71. The tradition of being an elite group has been undercut because the universities have taken in too many of the wrong people.

_____ 72. Non-whites are trying to get ahead too fast.

_____ 73. It's up to non-whites to take the lead in associating with whites.

_____ 74. It is to every white's advantage to keep non-whites down.

_____ 75. It would be better for minorities to emphasize what all Americans have in common rather than to emphasize their differences.

_____ 76. The schools provide good career opportunity for members of minority groups.

_____ 77. Because of all the tensions that have occurred, it looks like schools should have been desegregated more slowly.

_____ 78. The school should recognize that it is not always fair to apply test standards to minority groups that have been developed for whites.

_____ 79. No man should push himself where he is not wanted.

_____ 80. There should be many teachers who come from minority groups in the schools.

_____ 81. Non-whites are taking advantage of current social and political unrest to gain advantages for themselves.

_____ 82. In my opinion most whites would prefer to see non-whites better off than they are.

_____ 83. Too many people in the establishment are out for themselves.

_____ 84. In spite of what they show on the surface, most whites are pretty much the same in their attitudes towards non-whites.

_____ 85. Schools should be more responsive to the needs of minority group members.

_____ 86. Reverse discrimination against whites is just as bad as discrimination against non-whites.

_____ 87. Most non-whites are just as dependable as whites.

_____ 88. The problems for blacks are worse in American than other minority groups, such as Puerto Ricans and American Indians.

_____ 89. If the race problem can be solved anywhere, it can be solved in the schools.

_____ 90. Non-whites are less eager than whites to be promoted to positions of responsibility.

_____ 91. If things continue the way they are going the blacks will get more than their fair share.

_____ 92. It's up to whites to take the lead in associating with non-whites.

_____ 93. Whites have more reason to fear blacks than blacks have to fear whites.

_____ 94. Members of minority groups have a harder time in school than the others.

_____ 95. Whites dislike blacks more than blacks dislike whites.

_____ 96. Integration in the schools doesn't seem to help in reducing racial tensions.

_____ 97. Non-whites, other minorities and whites all have equal IQ's.

_____ 98. In the long run, dating between blacks and whites does more harm than good.

_____ 99. Private clubs should have a right to exclude whoever they want to.

_____ 100. Calling attention to racial problems only makes things worse.

_____ 101. Most people prefer not to deal openly with racial problems.

_____ 102. Discrimination and prejudice are personal matters—they are none of the business of the school.

_____ 103. People can be trained to be less prejudiced.